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THE MUSIC OF SHADWELL'S "TEMPEST"

By WILLIAM BARCLAY SQUIRE

THE curiously intricate story of the Restoration versions of Shakespeare's "Tempest" has been so fully told by Mr. W. J. Lawrence in 'The Elizabethan Playhouse' (1912), and with less detail in the article on "Purcell's Dramatic Music" contributed by the present writer to the fifth volume of the *Sammelbände* of the International Music Society, that some apology is needed for dealing with the matter again. But the recent discovery by Mlle. Pereyra in the Library of the Paris Conservatoire of a manuscript containing some hitherto unknown music for "The Tempest" by Pelham Humphrey—a discovery which has been described in the Bulletin of the 'Société Française de Musicologie' for last October—renders it advisable to recapitulate the results of earlier research, more especially as the new material of the Paris manuscript enables us to correct, in one point, the conclusions arrived at in the above-mentioned papers and in Mr. E. J. Dent's preface to the "Tempest" music printed by the Purcell Society.

The story of the Restoration versions of "The Tempest" is as follows: In 1667 there was played by the Duke of York's Company at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre a version of Shakespeare's play by D'Avenant and Dryden. This was not published until 1670—two years after D'Avenant's death—with a Preface by Dryden, who says that

Sir William Davenant . . . designed the Counterpart to Shakespear's Plot, namely that of a Man who had never seen a Woman. . . . This excellent contrivance he was pleas'd to communicate to me, and to desire my assistance in it. I confess that from the very first moment it so pleas'd me, that I never writ anything with more delight.

It is not necessary to detail the egregious alterations made in the original play which were involved by D'Avenant's 'excellent contrivance,' but it must be noted that the 1667 production required the following musical settings:

1. A "*Dialogue sung in parts*" by two devils, in Act II, which begins "Where does proud ambition dwell." It is followed by this stage direction: "Enter the two that sung, in the shape of devils, placing themselves

at the two corners of the stage." They are joined by Pride, Fraud, Rapine and Murder, but these do not sing; "after which they fall into a round encompassing the Duke, etc., singing:

Around, around we pace
About this cursed place,
Whilst thus we compass in
These mortals and their sin."

The scene ends with a dance.

2. "Come unto these yellow sands."
3. "Full fathom five."
4. "The master, the swabber, the gunner and I."
5. "No more dams I'll make for fish."
6. "Dry those eyes."
7. "Where the bee sucks."

There are also dances in the last three acts, notably a Saraband for Ariel and Milcha, a female spirit with whom Ariel is in love, but who does not appear elsewhere in the play.

In 1671 the Duke's Company, then managed by Lady D'Avenant, her son Charles, and Harris and Betterton, two of the principal actors, moved to a new theatre on the east side of Salisbury Court, on the site of the gardens of Dorset House. The theatre, which was larger than the Drury Lane house (then occupied by the King's Company), was designed by Wren. It had approaches both by land and water and seems to have been a very beautiful structure. (There are views of both exterior and interior in the 1673 Quarto of Elkanah Settle's "Empress of Morocco.") With its large stage and improved machinery the Dorset Gardens Theatre from the first became noted for spectacular displays. Thanks to the 'Roscius Anglicanus' of Downes, who was prompter to the Duke of York's Company from 1662 to 1706, we possess a valuable record of the theatrical performances of the reigns of Charles II, James II and William and Mary, and though he is sometimes inaccurate and his dates wrong, yet his mistakes are not so numerous as to invalidate the general correctness of his evidence. From this source we know that there was performed at the Dorset Gardens Theatre

in 1673, the *Tempest*, or the *Inchanted Island*, made into an Opera by Mr. Shadwell, having all New in it; as Scenes, Machines; particularly, one Scene Painted with Myriads of Ariel Spirits; and another flying away, with a Table Furnisht out with Fruits, Sweetmeats, and all sorts of Viands; just when Duke Trinculo and his Companions were going to Dinner; all was things perform'd in it so Admirably well, that not any succeeding Operas got more money.

Mr. Lawrence has shown, on the evidence of a manuscript Prologue and Epilogue written by Shadwell for this production, that the "Opera" of "The Tempest" must have been performed early in 1674, and not in 1673. But as the year at that time ended in March, Downes was not far wrong in his date. The new version performed at Dorset Gardens was published in 1674, and though the text was very materially altered from the Dryden-D'Avenant version, no notice of this appeared on the title-page, and Dryden's Preface with the Prologue and Epilogue of the older version were retained. Curiously enough, when the new version was reprinted in 1690, though the letterpress was set up afresh, the same thing was done, so that, until recently, both the 1673 and 1690 Quartos were taken as being Dryden-D'Avenant versions. But there can be no doubt that they represent Shadwell's operatic arrangement for the Dorset Gardens Theatre, and one of the songs, 'Arise, ye subterranean winds,' occurs with his name as author in a collection of songs issued in 1680 by Pietro Reggio, a Genoese musician who died in London in 1685.

The 1673 Quarto is very interesting from the light it throws on the stage arrangements of the time. At the beginning of Act I the Front of the Stage is open'd, and the Band of 24 Violins, with the Harpsicals and Theorbo's which accompany the Voices, are plac'd between the Pit and the Stage. While the Overture is playing the Curtain rises, and discovers a new Frontispiece, joyn'd to the great Pilasters, on each side of the Stage. This Frontispiece is a noble Arch, supported by large wreathed Columns of the Corinthian Order; the wreathings of the Columns are beautif'd with Roses wound round them, and several Cupids flying about them. On the Cornice, just over the Capitals, sits on either side a Figure, with a Trumpet in one hand, and a Palm in the other, representing Fame. A little farther on the same Cornice, on each side of a Compass-pediment, lie a Lion and a Unicorn, the Supporters of the Royal Arms of England. In the middle of the Arch are several Angels, holding the Kings Arms, as if they were placing them in the midst of that Compass-pediment. Behind this is the Scene, which represents a thick Cloudy Sky, a very Rocky Coast, and a Tempestuous Sea in perpetual Agitation. This Tempest (suppos'd to be rais'd by Magick) has many dreadful Objects in it, as several Spirits in horrid shapes flying down among the Sailers, then rising and crossing in the Air. And when the Ship is sinking, the whole House is darken'd, and a shower of Fire falls upon 'em. This is accompanied with Lightening, and several Claps of Thunder, to the end of the Storm.

From this description it is clear that room was made for an orchestra by means of a second proscenium, the 'New Frontispiece'; the same arrangement is described in Dryden and Grabu's 'Albion and Albanus' (1685). The "Band of 24 Violins" was evidently

the Royal Band, established early in his reign by Charles II, in imitation of the band of Louis XIV. The singers were also recruited from the Royal establishment, for in the Lord Chamberlain's accounts it is recorded, on 16 May, 1674, that

it is his Majesty's pleasure that Mr. Turner and Mr. Hart, or any other men or boys belonging to his Majesty's Chappell Royal that sing in ye *Tempest* at his Royall Highness Theatre, doe remaine in towne all the week (during his Majesty's absence from Whitehall) to perform that service.

The number of "men and boys" so employed seems to have been thirty, for Shadwell's Epilogue (in Eg. Ms. 2623) says:

We have Machines to some perfection brought,
And above 30 Warbling voyces gott.

How the whole house was darkened is not clear; possibly it was done by raising chandeliers of candles. It seems doubtful whether foot-lights were used; if so, they must have been drawn off at the sides or screened by shades.

In changing the D'Avenant-Dryden play into an Opera, besides the usual Act and Curtain Tunes, Shadwell naturally introduced a number of instrumental dances and 'flourishes,' and incidental music. He retained the Shakespearean words of 'Come unto these yellow sands,' 'Full fathom five,' 'The master, the swabber, the gunner and I,' 'No more dams I'll make for fish,' and the D'Avenant-Dryden 'Dry those eyes.' The 'Dialogue' sung in Parts, by two devils in Act II was considerably extended. It was first sung under the stage by three devils, who presently rose and were joined by Pride, Fraud, Rapine and Murder—who were all singing characters. At the end of the scene, as Alonzo and his companions are going out, "a Devil rises just before them," who sings a song, 'Arise, ye subterranean winds,' after which "Two Winds rise, ten more enter and dance: at the end of the Dance, three Winds sink, the rest drive" Alonzo, Antonio and Gonzalez off. In Act III, 'Full fathom five' is allotted to Milcha, and the whole work ends with a sort of Masque, in which Neptune, Amphitrite, Oceanus and Tethys appear in a chariot drawn by sea-horses; Æolus descends; winds "from the four corners" appear; there follows "a symphony of Musick, like Trumpets, to which four Trytons dance," and after further singing and dancing, the "scene changes to the Rising Sun, and a number of Aerial Spirits in the Air, Ariel flying from the Sun, advances towards the Pit" and "Ariel and the rest" sing "Where the bee sucks," "Song ended, Ariel speaks, hovering in the Air."

The interesting question arises as to how far it would be possible to reconstruct the musical setting of Shadwell's operatic "Tempest." As to the purely instrumental music, part of it—composed by Matthew Locke—was printed in 1675 in "The English Opera; or the Vocal Musick in *Psyche*. . . . To which is Adjoyned the Instrumental Musick in the *Tempest*." In the preface to this work, Locke states that *the Instrumental Musick before and between the Acts, and the Entries in the Acts of Psyche are omitted by the consent of their Author, Seignior Gio. Baptista Draghi*.¹ *The Tunes of the Entries and Dancers in the Tempest (the Dancers being chang'd) are omitted for the same reason.*

"Psyche" (the words of which are by Shadwell) was produced in 1673, and it is clear that Draghi wrote the dance-music for both that work and for "The Tempest," though what the expression "the dancers being chang'd" means, seems obscure. That Draghi's dances will ever be recovered is unlikely, but the preservation of Locke's music is very valuable. It consists of First and Second Music (played while the audience was assembling), Curtain Tune (or Overture), four Act Tunes and a Conclusion. The First Music comprises an Introduction, Galliard and Gavotte; the Second Music a Saraband and "Lilk" (a term which is defined in no dictionary); the Curtain Tune evidently attempts to depict the storm with which the play opens; the First Act Tune is a Rustic Air; the Second a Minuet; the Third a Corant; the Fourth a Martial Jig, and the Conclusion (probably played as the audience was dispersing) a Canon, 4 in 2. The Curtain Tune and the Lilk were reprinted in 1812 in Vol. I of Stafford Smith's 'Musica Antiqua.'

Somewhere about the same time as the publication of "Psyche," there appeared a small collection headed "The Ariel's Songs in the Play call'd the Tempest," which contains music by John Banister for 'Come unto these yellow sands,' 'Dry those eyes,' 'Go thy way' and 'Full fathom five'; by Pelham Humphrey for 'Where the bee sucks,' and by James Hart for 'Adieu to the pleasures'—a song which does not occur in any of the Quartos. This publication offers a very puzzling bibliographical problem. Rimbault (in Grove's Dictionary) says that Banister, jointly with Pelham Humphrey, wrote the music to 'The Tempest,' performed in 1667, some of the songs in which were published in the first book of "Choice Ayres" in 1676, while the Dictionary of National Biography makes matters worse by saying that Banister and Humphrey wrote music for "The Tempest" in 1676—two years after

¹By an extraordinary mistake Grove's Dictionary (I. 727) states that Draghi published in 1675 the Act-tunes and some other instrumental music for 'Psyche'!

the date of Humphrey's death. According to Husk (Grove's Dictionary, II, p. 442) the "rare, separately paged sheet" containing the 'Ariel's Songs' is to be found inserted in some copies of the 1676 edition of "Choice Ayres." The British Museum contains copies of both the 1675 and 1676 editions of the book, but neither contains any 'Tempest' music, though the latter does print Hart's song, but without any indication that it belongs to "The Tempest." The Museum also possesses a copy of 'The Ariel's Songs,' without date, pagination or imprint; and in a very fragmentary copy of some edition of "Choice Ayres" which is preserved in the Royal College of Music, there is another copy, in which the 'Ariel's Songs' are paged 77-80, with the register signature Vv, but followed by a second page 77. This imperfect copy wants the title-page, but from p. 69 on differs entirely from the 1676 edition, which is considerably longer. It is very difficult to say from this evidence which is the earliest edition of the 'Ariel's Songs.' The discovery of a perfect copy agreeing with the Royal College book would settle the question, but provisionally it may be surmised that it represents a second edition of the 1675 book, and that, previous to its issue, the 'Ariel's Songs' were printed without pagination and then included (with pagination) in the book after it was ready for publication. Why they were omitted from the 1676 edition seems inexplicable. Anyway, it is pretty certain that the printed 'Ariel's Songs' do not date from before 1675, and the general assumption that they represent the musical settings used in the D'Avenant-Dryden version of 1667 falls to the ground, while on the other hand, it is practically certain that they form part of the Shadwell production.

In this respect the presence of Hart's song is important. The title 'Dorinda lamenting the loss of her Amintas' (there is no Amintas in either version) points to its having been introduced—probably in the fourth or fifth Act, where Dorinda thinks that Hippolyto has been killed by Ferdinand—and that it forms no part of D'Avenant's, Dryden's, or Shadwell's alterations.

James Hart was born at York in 1647 and was a bass-singer in the Minster there until 1670, when he was appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. It has already been shown in the extract from the Lord Chamberlain's accounts, that he was one of the singers in the 1674 Shadwell production, and it is safe to conclude that his song was introduced either then or at some subsequent revival. Anyway it could not have been written for the 1667 D'Avenant-Dryden version, when he was still living at York. Moreover, Pelham Humphrey only returned from

studying abroad in October, 1667, and it is not very probable that he would at once have been employed to set 'Where the bee sucks' for the D'Avenant-Dryden version, which Pepys seems to have seen performed on the 7th November, 1667. In 1674 Humphrey was Master of the Children, Banister Leader of the King's Band, Locke Composer in Ordinary to the King and Draghi probably organist to Catherine of Braganza, so that the musical setting of Shadwell's 'Tempest' was entrusted to the most prominent musicians of the day. If the view that the 'Ariel's Songs' really belong to 1674 and not to 1667 is correct, they furnish an important addition to the instrumental music of Locke. Caliban's songs, and 'The master, the swabber, the gunner and I,' were probably not set to music, but sung by the actors to any impromptu strain. The missing vocal music has now been supplied by Mlle. Pereyra's fortunate discovery in the library of the Paris Conservatoire.

It consists of fourteen pages of manuscript, written on a stave of six lines, and was acquired at the Libri Sale in 1858. To judge by the careful copy which Mlle. Pereyra has kindly had made, the manuscript contains a good many errors, though not such as may not be easily corrected. It is headed "The Vocal Musick in the Tempest by Mr. Pelh. Humfrey," and contains (in the following order) 'The song of the Three Divells,' The Masque, and the song 'Arise, ye subterranean winds'; thus supplying the lacunæ in Locke's publication and in the 'Ariel's Songs,' so that (with the exception of Draghi's dance-tunes) the whole of the musical setting of Shadwell's "Tempest" can now be reconstructed. The position of 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' in the Conservatoire manuscript is noticeable, for in the play the song occurs in Act II and not after the Masque. It is also the only part of the music which has a figured bass. The explanation of this is that the setting is not by Humphrey, but by Pietro Reggio; it will be found in the rare "Songs set by Signior Pietro Reggio" published at London in 1680 and its presence in the manuscript thus confirms the surmise that it was written for the 1674 performance. It is much to be wished that a work of so much historical interest as the music to Shadwell's 'Tempest' could be published. Humphrey's share in it is especially interesting, as he is generally credited with having introduced into England the style of declamatory recitative which originated in Italy and was developed in France by Lully, with whom Humphrey is said to have studied. Though it was supplanted for stage purposes by Purcell's music, the "Tempest" of Locke, Humphrey and Banister has an important place among the incunabula of opera in England.

It is in cases like these that the need of an English publication on the lines of the German "Denkmäler" is so much felt. Locke's "Psyche," the Shadwell "Tempest" music, Eccles' "Macbeth" and "Semele," the operas of Daniel Purcell and Godfrey Finger, the "Macbeth" music before it was tinkered by Boyce—these ought all to be available to students of the history of English music. But a country which owns Purcell and yet has not succeeded in completing the edition of his works begun forty-five years ago cannot be expected to take any interest in the music of its minor composers.

Scene from the
Masque "The Tempest"

Words by Thos. Shadwell

Pelham Humphrey

Amphitrite

My Lord, great Nep-tune, for my sake, Of

this bright beau - - ty pit - y take, And to the rest al -

low your mer - cy too. Let this en-rag-ed el - e-ment be still,

Let Æ-o-lus o-bey my will, Let him his bois-t'rous pris-hers safe-ly

keep In the dark cav-erns and no more Let them dis-turb the sur-ges of the

deep. Till these ar - rive up-on their wish'd for shore.

Neptune

I so a - dore my Am - phi - tri - te's eyes

That no com-mand of hers I can de-spise.

Te-thys no fur-rows now shall wear, O-ce-a-nus no

wrin-kles on his brow, Let your se-ren-est looks ap-

pear, Be calm, be calm and gen-tle now.

Amphitrite

Be calm, ye great pa-rents of the floods and the springs, While each

Neptune

Be calm, ye great pa-rents of the floods and the springs, While each

Ne-reid and Tri-ton plays, rev-els, and sings. Be

Ne-reid and Tri-ton plays, rev-els, and sings. Be

calm, ye great pa-rents of the floods and the springs, While each

calm, ye great pa-rents of the floods and the springs, While each

Ne-reid and Tri-ton plays, rev-els, and sings.

Ne-reid and Tri-ton plays, rev-els, and sings.

Oceanus

Con-fine your roaring boys, and we Will soon o - bey you cheer-ful-ly.

Chorus of Tritons and Nereids

SOPRANO

Tie up the winds and we'll o - bey, Up - on the floods we'll

ALTO

Tie up the winds and we'll o - bey, Up - on the floods we'll

BASS

Tie up the winds and we'll o - bey, Up - on the floods we'll

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.

Musical score for the first system, featuring three staves (treble, alto, and bass) in a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "Tie up the Winds and we'll o-bey, Up - on the floods we'll". The melody is written in the treble staff, with the alto and bass staves providing harmonic support. The lyrics are aligned with the notes: "Tie up the Winds and" under the first measure, "we'll o-bey, Up -" under the second measure, and "on the floods we'll" under the third measure.

Tie up the Winds and we'll o-bey, Up - on the floods we'll

Tie up the Winds and we'll o-bey, Up - on the floods we'll

Tie up the Winds and we'll o - bey, Up - on the floods we'll

Musical score for the second system, featuring three staves (treble, alto, and bass) in a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are: "sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day." The melody is written in the treble staff, with the alto and bass staves providing harmonic support. The lyrics are aligned with the notes: "sing and play, And" under the first measure, "cel - e-brate an" under the second measure, and "Hal - cyon day." under the third measure.

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.

sing and play, And cel - e-brate an Hal - cyon day.